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THE
NORTH AND THE SOUTH:

AN ADDRESS,

BY L. U. REAVIS,
AT THE TEXAS STATE FAIR,

Held at Austin, October 29th. 1878.

Southward the tides of commerce run,
"From lands of snow to lands of sun."

ST. LOUIS, MO.:
PRINTED BY WOODWARD, TIERNAN & HALE,
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ST. LOUIS BANK NOTE COMPANY

Faithfully
Yours
L. M. Reavis

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OF CONGRESS

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TO

JAMES WALLACE PARAMORE,

President St. Louis Cotton Compress Co.

A MAN OF THE BRIGHTEST AND CLEAREST COMMERCIAL VIEWS, AND SUPERIOR
ORGANIZING AND EXECUTIVE TALENTS, WHO HAS MARKED OUT AND
FAITHFULLY FOLLOWED A POLICY WHICH IS BINDING THE
NORTH AND SOUTH TOGETHER IN COMMON COMMERCIAL
INTERESTS; WHO HAS CREATED
NEW AND UNSURPASSED FACILITIES FOR THE HANDLING OF THE GREAT STAPLE
OF THE SOUTH; AND WHO HAS—MORE THAN ANY OTHER MAN—
ASSISTED TO RAISE THE COTTON TRADE OF ST. LOUIS FROM
INSIGNIFICANCE TO GREATNESS; AND WHOSE
SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL VIRTUES HAVE THE ADDED BRIGHTNESS OF HIGH
INTELLIGENCE AND UNSWERVING INTEGRITY;

THESE PAGES,

WHICH TREAT OF COMMON INTERESTS AND OF COMMON ENDS, ARE

FAITHFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I come before you under auspicious circumstances. We are in the midst of a great fructifying time in our national life. Everywhere over this broad land, over this wide continent are to be seen the unmistakeable evidences of approaching prosperity to our country, evidences that we shall bound forward with unexampled rapidity to wealth and power.

Having written and said much about the commercial destiny of Saxon America, southward on the western hemisphere, I was anxious to visit and make personal observations of regions lying upon the Gulf of Mexico; and especially at this time when the President and Senator Blaine had both visited Minnesota to give a word of personal encouragement to the people of the North-west, I feel that an injustice has been done the South, for no man from the North, since the close of the civil strife, save Horace Greeley, has come to the South to mingle with her people and "clasp hands across the bloody chasm," and give words of encouragement for the building up of the great states upon the Gulf of Mexico. This fact, more than any other, has induced me to come to your great commonwealth. It was my desire to see your people, your country, your homes, and declare unto you a few fundamental truths relating to our commercial and political destiny. I am, therefore, here to speak to you concerning a vast future of commerce and civilization, the beginning of which now confronts us, and is already heralded by the prosperity and promise of your own people. I am here to present underlying facts concerning your state, and to consider her as an integral part in the federal family, and the destiny that awaits her as a political organism, as well as her relations to co-terminous countries on the western hemisphere; I am also here to speak to you of the material and political interests of that physical section of our country known as the valley of the Mississippi, and of which I count Texas a part; and I am here to talk to you concerning the supreme importance of maintaining our vast fabric of constitutional and continental government, as

"The mightiest of the mighty means
On which the arm of progress leans."

I do not, however, come to you as a politician to urge duties on you that I would not urge in any other part of the Union, or to imply infidelity on your part that I would not apply to the people of any other state in the federal family. I make no distinction, I have no prejudice, no special locality to serve in contradistinction to every part of the entire country.

The present discussion will relate more especially to the new thoughts I propose to suggest, and which I believe to be subjects of the highest consideration to the people of the North and South.

We stand at a pivot point in our national history. A century has rolled away into the past since our fathers proclaimed the Declaration of American Independence. We have learned the lessons taught by the old century, both of folly and wisdom, and have profited thereby. A new century now confronts us; a century pregnant with untried and unsolved problems of civilization and government. We enter upon the new century with more experience than did our fathers when they founded the American nation, and we have been carrying out their purpose of continental empire. The work they inaugurated is not yet complete, but the end is sure.

Lamartine said: "the revolutions of the human mind are slow like the eras in the life of nations." This may be essentially true in respect to European and Asiatic nations, and their civilizations, but less applicable to our people—the American people.

In this land of ours, the rapidity with which the transition, from feebly connected colonial federal associations, to an independent nation has taken place, almost makes the span of life, assigned by the psalmist, a link between the political and social condition of two ages. The stories of childhood days are the recollections of frontier life. Yesterday this continent was a wilderness without people and without law, to-day it is over-arched by a Constitution created and maintained by federated nations, and teeming with a population of more than forty millions. So great has been the change from the social life on the frontier, and the rude forms of mechanical contrivances that the boy born in the wilderness and schooled in adversity is now an active worker in the midst of a ripe civilization. Skilled artisans with improved implements have changed the wigwam to a palace, and erected cities of civilization on the smoke-clad ruins of the aborigines; and now we know the generation with which we have touched hands to be quite different in practical life and social sentiment from that generation with which we are cotemporary. The

rapidity of the change from frontier life—from the imperfect mechanical contrivances and imperfect modes of education seems almost like a dream—a metamorphosis through which our people had passed. The school boy stories of the hardships and vicissitudes of our revolutionary forefathers, in the struggle for an independent nationality on this continent, pass before our vision to-day like a panorama of empire, and those of you who nestled around your mother's knees a generation or more ago, know that your mothers were quite different in practical life and social relations from the mothers of to-day, and when viewed either from a social or political stand point, we are impelled to the conviction that public life to-day is quite different from what it was at the opening of the first century in our national history.

In the very nature of things colonial life engendered in the American people a pioneering, a restless, roving, unsettled habit of life. So much has been the influence of this condition that science has already said that the American people have no home. Phrenology points out that all other people on the earth love home better than the American people. On the American head the organ of inhabitativeness is smaller than on the head of the people of any other nation. Perhaps this peculiarity of organization was essential to the accomplishment of the civil conquest and peopling of a continent, for in no former age was the pioneer confronted with a work so great; a continent to conquer from nature, and a vast Republic to extend over its wide domain.

The westward migration of the human race pressing ever from the east, and the discovery of America impelled the ancestors of the American people to pitch their tents upon the Atlantic shore of the continent. Upon that shore fixed habitations were established and the continental mission of the American people inaugurated by a still onward and westward movement across the continent to the Pacific ocean. The movement was directed by that law of human life which urges man on to the civil conquest of the world, to carve empires out of the wilderness and build cities of civilization. The American pioneer was followed and succeeded even to the Pacific shore by the men of more skillful hands, with more useful arts. This movement of the American people westward across the continent has been going on for one hundred years. New states have been admitted into the federal family, the chain of empire has been stretched across the continent from ocean to ocean, and

during all these years and amid all the achievements of our government and civilization, the American people have been bound together by commercial and social ties extending from the east to the west. From the parental home in the east, from the neighborhood and from the state, went forth son and daughter, friends and people, westward over the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, to seek new homes in the valley of the Mississippi and upon the Pacific slope. Every child and every person who went toward the setting sun made stronger the ties between the east and the west, and made those geographical terms more familiar and attractive to the great mass of the people, than the north and the south.

Kindred ties—art, industry, commerce, education and religion were all woven together to make strong the unity of the people along the pathway running from the east to the west. This, in the very nature of things, was a condition incident to the pioneering century of the Republic.

Meanwhile, when the arts and civil interests were uniting the people in stronger bonds, slavery grew to be a disturbing and sectional element in our civilization, and with its growth the terms north and south became odious to many. The two sections of country, one lying upon the lakes, and the other upon the Gulf of Mexico, in a measure became antagonized to each other. Political fanaticism, for and against slavery, tended to engender a spirit of crimination between the people living north and south of Mason and Dixon's line—a spirit hostile to the commercial and social interest of the whole people.

The national struggle which grew out of slavery ended with slavery, and in spite of the clamor of politicians and the whippers-in of decaying party organizations, the Republic is now on the highway to primacy among the nations of the earth.

The great pioneer movement of the world's people has always been from east to west. This movement lies at the bottom of human government. It prepares the way for the higher growth of wealth and civilization which come from the activity of the people north and south.

The pioneer movement of the American people having been substantially accomplished by the extension of the frontier lines of civilization to the Pacific Ocean and the building of seats of fixed habitation and cities of commerce, the people are now unconsciously preparing for the second and more mature movement in the fulfillment, on this continent, of the mission of the Anglo-Saxon race.

This new movement of the American people will be at right angles to the axis of the belt of empire, or to the north and the south upon the North American continent and the western hemisphere. The first movement is impelled by the migratory instinct of the race, and its fundamental condition is sameness among the people living upon the same latitudes and under the same climates. The second movement is a struggle for wealth and civilization. It compels man to combat the climates and convert to one general purpose of individual happiness and public good the products of nature and man under all the climates. This second movement develops genius and creates art. It is cosmopolitan in its character and unitary in its results.

It required one hundred years for the American people to make the first movement over this continent, to contest with wild beasts and red men the right to possess the land they now inhabit and plant empire upon its wide domain. It will not require so long a time for this people to comprehend their mission and accomplish the second movement. It requires a longer time for the child to arrive at the age of manly usefulness than it does for it to grow from manly usefulness to mature usefulness. So too with a nation, the growth of which from colonial and pioneer life is always slow and difficult.

At this point it might be well for me to call your attention to what is termed a scientific fact, connected with the historic movement of the human race upon the globe, and I ask your pardon for presuming to attack, or it might be said explain, and give a new interpretation to what is called a cardinal doctrine of world-noted men. I refer to the doctrine of the "Belt of Empire."

It is a familiar fact to those of ordinary reading that the great mass of the world's people have lived, and do now live north of the equator and in the North Temperate Zone. The reason of this must be obvious to every reflecting mind. First, the land formations of the globe are older in the region of the Arctic Zone north of the equator than south of it; therefore, sooner fitted for the abode of man. Second, north of the equator the land formations of the globe widen and the waters contract, thus adapting climates to the better use of man.

In addition to these facts it is also true that the strongest branch of the human race, the White Aryan race, started long ago "from the primitive paradise in the neighborhood of the primeval cities of

Sogd and Balkh, in High Asia," and has moved westward over the globe within a belt of country defined to be governed by equal temperature: that along this belt have grown up nearly all the great men and great cities and great nations of the earth. This belt of equal temperature was first defined by Humboldt, who called the attention of scientific men to it. It is now called the belt of empire, and is understood to be a revelation of a great physical truth.

Since Humboldt called the attention of scientific men to this belt of equal temperature, John William Draper, LL. D., has founded much of his discussions upon its correctness; so also have Gov. Gilpin, Col. R. G. Ingersoll and others. Col. Ingersoll has gone so far as to say that no man can be great, nor can there be any great works of man, save where snow and ice are to be combated. And all writers who believe in the discovery of this great physical truth, have set their seal of condemnation on southern countries and southern people.

Now with all due regard to Humboldt and his great experience and his learned followers, I undertake to say that the so-called belt of empire or zone of equal temperature is not founded upon a fundamental law governing human life upon this globe. It is founded upon an incident and not on an all-powerful governing law. At best the belt of equal temperature is defined by the pioneer movement of mankind around the globe, and the intellectual achievements of the race along the highway of the pioneers are alone incidental to the migratory movement along the so called path of empire, and to contend for the finality and inflexibility of such a law governing mankind is to contend against God. All the evidence of the world's pre-historic civilization, as well as modern experience, go to disprove the existence of such a governing law. In the Orient the evidences of the highest civilization and intellectual activity are found beyond the axis of this belt of equal temperature. So, too, are the evidences furnished in Yucatan and Peru.

The birth of Hannibal and the victories of Cortez, the birth of Napoleon and Alexander Hamilton, and many other illustrious men in the annals of history, contradict the interpretation of the law said to have been discovered by Humboldt.

In more recent discussions on the movement of commerce upon, and as affected by the new order growing up on the Western Hemisphere, men tell us that commerce moves upon certain great lines of traffic, and in support of their undefined theories they refer to

the camel, whose instinctive movement determines the operation of a great governing law. I deny the movement of the camel as affording any evidence to establish a fixed law of human action. The camel was always a frontier, a pioneer animal; besides, he will soon pass away from the earth, and then who can tell anything about a law that has no expounder.

It therefore remains for some modern Humboldt to reveal to the world another law, if law it must be called, a rule of action defined by the movement of civilization on this globe; a higher law than controls the pioneer movement of mankind; a law not directed along a latitudinal belt of the globe, where instinct alone travels, but a law defined by the contest of mind, of consciousness, with the zones and climates of the earth. This new law properly defined will explain man's mightiest achievements on the globe, and vindicate God for making him master upon the earth.

In vindication of such a law, yet undefined, I hold that wherever grass grows in abundance on the face of the globe, and wherever mighty armies can march and win victories, there will civilization grow and man attain to the highest degree of power, intellectual advancement and refinement.

The adhesion to the old pioneer, so-called, belt of empire discourages the human race from its yet mightiest achievement of commercial and civil progress over the zones and climates of the Western Hemisphere. Here, between Cape Horn and Behring Straits, will be the greatest future, the mightiest destiny, and soon will begin to move a great wave of Saxon blood southward over this hemisphere, destined to unfold a new and mightier commerce, a more shining civilization, a greater manhood than was ever known before to the world.

But the camel moved north and south as well as east and west. He was the ship of the desert, and his master was a barbarian who hugged the shores of the Orient in his westward movement upon the globe and coveted the elements of nature as his fortress and his guide. I therefore unhesitatingly assert that the facts upon which the so-called "belt of empire" is founded are not conclusive; they are all subject to modification by our constantly growing civilization.

In the discussion of this subject I desire it to be understood that my purpose is more especially to apply whatever lesson it affords to the interests and welfare of the people of the Mississippi Valley, in whose guardian care the perpetuity of the American Republic is

henceforth to be intrusted. The topographical and geological construction of the North American continent affords unmistakeable evidence of the different uses and the manner of applying them, for which Providence designed each of these physical sections of the continent. It is therefore my purpose to indicate to the people of the Mississippi Valley the supreme importance of wisely conforming to the purposes of Providence, in the adaptability of national means to the best ends of human want and human advancement. In the language of De Toeqneville "the Valley of the Mississippi is the most magnificent dwelling place prepared by God for man's abode."

And it is the annunciation of this truth that I propose to demonstrate, as well as to show that the only absolute guarantee for the perpetuity of the American Republic is in the political unity of the people of the States of the Valley of the Mississippi.

That the highest industrial, commercial, social and political relations of the people of this great Valley will in the future exist between the North and the South there can be no manner of doubt. Both nature and civilization will demand that the future millions of American people prosecute the great battle of life—the great contest for wealth, power and knowledge between zones and climates, the extremes of which produce conflicts that increase the necessities of man and stimulate him to greater endeavors to conquer the obstacles of nature found in his pathway. And it is the inevitable decree of nature that this battle of life on this continent be waged in the Valley of the Mississippi.

Taking our national domain as a whole, we have, exclusive of Alaska, 3,495,453 square miles. Of this number more than one-half, or 2,445,000 square miles, belong to the Valley of the Mississippi. And as this great Valley is indissolubly bound together by natural ties, which are in the highest degree essential to human prosperity and human power, it must be inferred that it was destined by superior wisdom to be the heritage and home of one people, speaking one language, obeying one law, and aspiring to one destiny. There is no other conclusion to which the intelligent mind can arrive. Let us consider it for one moment.

Here we have a Valley, the largest and richest in natural resources of any single body of land on the globe. It extends from the semi-arctic regions of the continent to the equatorial climate of our Hemisphere. In breadth it occupies the vast domain between the Alleghanies and Rocky Mountains. Its climate is that under which

all great nations of the world have advanced to power; that which all history proves to be calculated to develop the highest physical and intellectual activity.

Viewed in the light of its population, this great Valley has a natural basis, a productive power sufficient to support a mightier people, more populous, and greater in the arts of peace than any other portion of the globe. Its extent of river navigation exceeds that of any other Valley known to the continents, and its railway system has no equal. Its coal fields and corn fields expand far beyond the measure of those belonging to any other domain, while its materials for building purposes and its food producing capacity are equaled nowhere else. Thus endowed by nature with prodigal resources, it must become the centre of human power on the globe, the chosen place where the westward movement of population will be arrested and find a lodgment.

The center of the world's civilization in its westward movement can never pass this Valley, for the narrow belts of land favored in soil and climate, along the Pacific coast, can never support a population as numerous as will soon inhabit the basin between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains. Beyond the Pacific ocean, we come back to the cradle of the earliest civilization, and to lands already over-crowded with population. The Southern Hemisphere, so largely submerged, offers no sufficient resting-place for a great nation, except in regions too close to the tropics to afford opportunity for the highest development of power and civilization. The fairest and most fertile tracts of Europe and Asia are separated from each other by physical obstacles, as well as by differences in the speech and race of their inhabitants, so that no homogeneous, compact people, thoroughly united in interests and aims, can be expected to arise in those regions, having a population of more than fifty millions; but the population of the Mississippi Valley, which increased fifty-one and a half per cent. from 1850 to 1860, and in spite of the losses of war, increased almost thirty per cent, from 1860 to 1870, if it should advance at the former rate would be over one hundred millions within forty years from this date; and if it should gain only as fast as it did during the last decade of war, would be over one hundred millions in little more than sixty years from this date. In the population of this Valley many races are represented, but all are fused and blended into one compact nation. A system of interior lines of water communication, such as exists nowhere else on the

earth, with an unequaled auxiliary railway system, bind together in daily intercourse and common interests the whole of this growing population. The predominant blood in its population is that masterful Anglo-Saxon, which has made Germany the most powerful of European nations, and England the Queen of commerce and the mistress of the seas.

With such a population, so bound together by a common interest, and so favored by natural resources and climate, this great Valley must continue to attract to itself the choicest population of other lands. Europe already overflows, and its most intelligent, industrious and enterprising emigrants seeking new homes are drawn by the cheapness and fertility of the soil and ample resources of the Mississippi Valley. Nor can this be otherwise until its density of population is as great as that of European countries. The German Empire has a population of 164 to the square mile. The Mississippi Valley, not including its Territories, have an area of 1,100,000 square miles, and must therefore have a population of one hundred and eighty millions before it becomes as densely occupied as Germany is now.

Until this Valley becomes more populous than any other country on earth, except China, it must continue to receive the constant overflow from Europe. Moreover, the Atlantic states already pour a steady flood of migration over the mountains, without themselves ceasing to increase in population. As they become more densely settled, this westward flood will become greater every year.

There is another reason for believing that its increase in population will not be arrested until the Mississippi Valley has become more densely populated than any country in Europe. It is destined to be the home of peace, the safest and surest refuge of industry. On the eastward the Atlantic states form the first and a powerful barrier against foreign invasion; while the Alleghany mountains present a line of defense impregnable against any enemy approaching from the east. On the westward the Pacific states would resist an invader, and the Sierras and deserts arrest his march. On the north, regions impassable in summer by reason of water, and in winter by reason of snows, shut in the valley from approach, while from the Gulf coast, as experience during the war of 1812 and in the recent civil war abundantly proved, there is no pathway northward which could not easily be held against any invading force. Thus defended on all sides, with ample water facil-

ities reaching throughout the whole interior for the transportation of forces toward any threatened point, the people of the valley are more secure from invasion than those of any nation on earth. The time may come when this advantage will be an important one. On the other hand, no country in Europe is thus secure. Hostile armies have more than once trampled the grain of the richest fields of Germany, Italy, Austria and France, and even the snows of Russia have not always proved a shield of protection. Between the hostile races and irreconcilable creeds of Europe there can be no enduring peace, and the costly military establishment of every nation must there burden its industry, and the constant dread of war repress enterprise, even in times of peace. For this reason, even more than because of density of population, there is certain to be a constant migration from lands where industry must be always burdened and never secure, to the home of perpetual peace in that great valley which no invader can ever penetrate.

Thus favored by circumstances within and without, it must be obvious that the Mississippi Valley will continue to advance in population until its inhabitants number at least one hundred millions; nor can that time be more than half a century distant. Bound together by common interests, and a common share in that great system of rivers, the outlet of which it can never suffer to be under a foreign control, the Mississippi Valley will have both the interest to forbid and the power to prevent any separation of other portions of the Republic. Far outnumbering any other section in population, and having, by its central position, the advantage over all others, even if combined, it will neither suffer its protecting fortifications on the eastern sea-coast, nor on the Pacific, to be separated from its control. Apart from its power of numerical superiority, the Mississippi Valley is the only section of the country which can stand alone: the Atlantic states can never secede for want of food, nor the Pacific states for want of the metals. Powerful enough in numbers to make the laws of the Republic, the people of the valley will also be powerful enough to enforce them. To-day the inhabitants of the United States are forty millions; and those of the Mississippi Valley twenty millions; in 1880 the people of the United States will be fifty millions, and the people of the Valley at least twenty-seven, and from that time forward their share of power will increase proportionally with every decade.

Must we not therefore conclude, in view of its natural capabilities and the possibilities of its people, that the Valley of the Mississippi is destined, at no distant day, to be the greatest theatre of human activity on the globe? Is it not evident beyond all question of a doubt that between the two great mountain ranges of the continent and from our northern boundary to the Gulf of Mexico, will soon reside a vast population, more powerful in war and more prosperous in peace, than can be found anywhere else on the earth?

Having considered the physical aspect of this great valley, and its capacity for population, as the basis of the future growth and prosperity of its people, let us pass to its commercial interests.

Viewed in its commercial aspect, the trade of the people of the Mississippi Valley must be conducted north and south, between zones and climates. The great wealth which the surplus products of contiguous countries create, grows out of traffic between zones and climates;—the exchange of different products which one people make with another. Whoever looks to the under-lying principles that instinctively control the American people, in their efforts for gain and happiness, must know that, in the maturity of their public life, they cannot continue to adhere to the east and west movement upon the continent. No real wealth can grow out of such a movement. People who have the same products cannot create markets for each other, and more especially is this true with those who inhabit the same land, the same continent. People occupying different lands, having different climates, and residing upon different continents, can alone create markets for each other. If these statements be true it requires no great foresight, no great reasoning, to foresee and demonstrate the future interest not only of that portion of the American people residing in the Valley of the Mississippi, but of those also who reside on each of the ocean slopes. Not only do our people, living north and south in the Valley of the Mississippi, have home markets, the importance of which are constantly increasing with the growth of the country and the abundant supplies of the diverse products of different climates and soils, but beyond our own land and south of us are situated lands having different soils, climates and productions from our own.

It was this demand of commerce, this want in the advanced body of the great stream of the human race in its westward movement from the orient, that compelled the Phœnicians more than 600 years before the beginning of this era to move at right angles from the

zodiac of empire and combat different climates, for the purpose of securing for themselves a new and richer trade from the semi-tropical regions of Egypt. It was this same law, the same desire for the rich products of those lands that made the Jews seek the East India trade in the days of Solomon, and Jerusalem grew under the influence of this new trade to be the rival of Nineveh and Babylon. It was this same demand for the wealth of diverse climates that stimulated Alexander the Great to open a new commercial path to the East Indies that made Alexandria and Egypt the seats of wealth, power, learning and the arts and sciences. The Alexandrian route to the Indies continued to be the channel of trade for a period of 800 years; but with a westward movement of the human race new routes were successively opened, until with us in America a new Indies and a new continent has been discovered, and for our people new paths of commerce are destined to be opened, leading to richer fields of trade than those which we now possess.

The people of those lands can supply for the inhabitants of this valley markets of incalculable value; markets destined to increase in importance until they become more valuable to the people of North America than all the markets of Europe and Asia. Infinite wisdom made this western hemisphere to subserve a purpose peculiar to itself. No husband and wife were ever more truly mated in love, and more truly adapted to the happiness of each other than are the continents of the western hemisphere: and their children, the islands of the Gulf and the seas, are protected by the warm parental embrace of the two parents. North America is masculine by nature in its relation to South America; South America is feminine. North America is positive, its people of the Anglo-Saxon blood possess the spirit of aggression, of adventure and conquest: South America is negative, its people, offspring of the Latin races, are subjective and receptive. North America being of the male nature, its people will rule the destiny of the hemisphere. Linked together by nature as these continents are, their peoples must be united by commercial relations, reciprocal in their character and profitable in their results. Seeing these things to be true we must conclude that the future growth in commerce and arts, of the people of the continents of the western hemisphere, will depend upon the co-operative relations of the one with the other. The people of this valley will not look in the future to the markets of Europe and Asia for profits upon the surplus pro-

ducts of their farmers and mechanics. They will only look to those Oriental lands for products that minister to the comfort, enjoyment and happiness of the people of this valley.

Resources infinitely surpassing those of Europe, and climates unsurpassed by those of Asia and Africa, are found upon the western hemisphere. And to tell us that these superior resources, and these favored climates, belonging to our people and at the very gates of the nation, when wisely used, will not create markets of export and import far superior in profit and character to those of the older lands, is to challenge alike our credulity and our faith in American enterprise.

If it be true that transportation is the basis of all progress in civilization, and that seas, oceans and navigable rivers afford the cheapest transportation known to commerce, then we have only to look to the physical formation of the two continents of the western hemisphere to determine the relation of their commercial interests, as well as of their social and political societies.

People residing north and south of the equator are bound together by kindred land and waters. In every way do the land and waters of the two continents of the western hemisphere seem to relate to each other in a manner calculated to subserve the highest commercial and social interests of the people destined to reside upon the wide domain of each. The mighty rivers of the two lands, running through the richest regions of country on the earth, go towards each other, and mingle with the common water free to all the commerce of the world, and this people have only to comprehend the natural situation, their free inheritance, and conform to the requirements of nature in the prosecution of the higher and more essential duties of public life on this continent to attain the highest end of human existence. The duty is before the people of this generation; it only remains to be performed. Already the great cities of the valley have made rapid strides in the north and south movement, as seen in the construction of railways running toward the Gulf.

The commercial experience also of each succeeding year adds strength to the conviction that the surplus products of this valley must follow the flow of the waters to the Gulf of Mexico, and from thence to the markets of the world. In fact, it is a truth that the people of this valley have always had a more permanent home market, as well as a continental trade, north and south, than

they have had east and west. There is one continued market north and south from the Gulf to the Lakes, from Mobile, New Orleans and Galveston to Omaha, St. Paul and Chicago, while from Denver, Omaha and Chicago there exists no market east and west to the ports of the Atlantic. It is true that superior capital and better facilities for shipping have compelled western produce to the Atlantic sea-board, and from thence to the markets of other lands; but it must be evident to every reflecting man that, if freights can be carried more cheaply from any part of this valley to the Gulf of Mexico, than by rail to the Atlantic sea-board, and more cheaply from the Gulf ports to foreign markets than from the ports of the Atlantic, they will go to the Gulf instead of the Atlantic. This is a proposition that no commercial man can gainsay, and it requires no effort to prove that corn and wheat and other produce can be carried more cheaply from Omaha, St. Paul and Chicago to New Orleans, than from either of those points to New York. Furthermore, the day is not far distant when an eighth of a cent difference in the transportation of a bushel of wheat or corn from our country will rule the routes of transit and the markets of the world.

Under the present east and west movement Chicago and St. Louis are scarcely more than great custom houses to which western produce pays duty on its way to the Atlantic ports. Is it not easy to see in these statements a great truth underlying which will revolutionize, not only the commerce of this Valley, but the trade of the continent. Already our whole continental trade is rapidly changing, and with the change millions of money will be saved annually to the toilers of the Valley.

I look beyond to-day, and I see in the mysterious, though rapidly approaching future, new agencies put into use in the transportation of the products of this Valley. I see improved modes of business, wiser and better means for commercial use. And I also see one vast system of continental and inter-continental trade growing into supremacy. I see the wisdom and experience of enlightened merchants slowly but surely supplanting the present system of the eastward and westward movement of commerce by a northward and southward drift, and thus connecting by means of river and sea the different zones and climates, and exchanging their productions, and as a consequence

Southward the tides of commerce run,
"From lands of snow to lands of sun."

I see art and science, wealth and law, commerce and manufactures, all uniting with the wisdom of man, to make this continent and the hemisphere subserve the purposes of the Divine by enabling the future millions of this hemisphere to reap the full rewards of honest toil.

It is only by conforming to this north and south movement that the people of this valley can achieve the highest commercial and social advancement and secure the advantages afforded by diversity of climates. Wealth and refinement will hasten the more rapid exchange of products of the different climates north and south, and increase the comfort and happiness of those living in the different latitudes. Cars will no doubt soon be constructed to take fish and other northern products from the upper lakes and other regions adjacent to the southward, to be distributed over the Valley in mid-summer, and others will be constructed for the purpose of taking tropical fruits from the Gulf ports and distributing them northward over the Valley in midwinter.

This new movement of trade will draw after it a personal commerce in the migrations of the wealthier citizens of each diverse region to the other, to the South in winter, to the North in summer, which will exert a powerful social influence in cementing the units of the country by bonds of personal friendship as well as by those of business interest.

But let me stop in the midst of this presentation of the new commercial and industrial life now growing up on the Western Hemisphere, and consider for one moment the relations between the city of my home and your great commonwealth; what they are and what they are to be. If what has been previously said in reference to the commercial importance of the North and South movement of commerce, wealth and civilization, indicates correctly the activities of our people in the future, then St. Louis must forever continue to be a great vital organ in our continental life, and Texas must rise in the Southern Zone to be the political Arcturus in our great constellation of States. Already the conviction is growing in the public mind that St. Louis, though born the child of another nation, is destined to become, and that at no distant date, our continental metropolis and the capital of the world.

She now counts among her commercial houses twelve establishments, the largest of the kind on the globe. These I name as follows: Samuel Cupples & Co., manufacturers and dealers in

woodenware; the Simmons Hardware Company—the annual sales of this house amount to \$2,000,000: the St. Louis Stamping Company, manufacturers and dealers in granite and house furnishing ware; the Excelsior Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of stoves and dealers in tinnery supplies: the Collier White Lead and Oil Works; the Semple & Birge Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of agricultural machinery, hand farming tools and hardware specialties; Gregory, Stagg & Co., commissioners, importers, distillers and wholesale dealers in whiskies; F. Mansfield & Co., manufacturers of matches; L. M. Rumsey & Co., manufacturers and jobbers of pumps, agricultural implements, lead-pipe, sheet lead, gas-pipe fittings, railway supplies, plumbers' and steam fitters' brass goods, belting, hose, packing, &c.: the St. Louis Cotton Compress Company—the buildings of this company occupy a greater area of land than any other company in the world; they have eighteen acres of flooring; and the business done by this company is greater than by any other company in the world, the present year they handled 400,000 bales of cotton; the Medical Establishment of Dr. J. H. McLean, for the manufactory of special medicines; the Vulcan Iron Works, for the manufacture of steel rails.

In other lines of trade St. Louis has a number of establishments, the largest of their kind in the Valley of the Mississippi. These establishments I name: Hamilton, Brown & Co., manufacturers and jobbers in boots and shoes—this house is the largest in the Mississippi Valley, and does an annual business of \$300,000 in excess of any other house in St. Louis; Brookmire & Ranken, wholesale grocers; the Richardson & Co., wholesale drug house; the Yaeger Milling Company, manufacturers of flour—the largest in the United States—the mill consumes annually 1,750,000 bushels of wheat, out of which are made 350,000 barrels of flour; the Belcher Sugar Refining Co., manufacturers of refined sugars and syrups—this establishment does a business of \$6,500,000 yearly, it requires the aid of four hundred men to carry on the business. During the present year this establishment has used over 22,000 hogsheads of Louisiana sugar, the remainder of the sugars used are imported direct from Cuba. The present year the United States Government has been paid over \$1,000,000 for import duties on sugar for this establishment: it turns out all grades of refined sugar, and equal in quality to the best sugars in the country; the company melt daily 350,000 pounds raw sugar, and turn out annually over 200,000 barrels of refined sugar;

Lemp's Western Brewery is the largest and finest establishment of the kind in the Valley of the Mississippi, the draft and bottled beer made by this brewery finds a ready market all over this country, and in the West Indies, Central and South America; Whitman Agricultural Company, manufacturers of horse powers, threshing machines, corn shellers (all sizes), cider mills, feed cutters, seed sowers, road scrapers, &c.; the L. Bauman & Co., wholesale jewelry house. In reference to banking, the Boatmen's Saving Bank of St. Louis, is the largest in the Mississippi Valley, exclusive of two branch Canadian banks in Chicago—its capital stock is \$2,000,000 and its surplus \$300,000 and its deposits over \$3,000,000; R. Sellew & Co., dealers in metals, tin plate, sheet iron, copper and other supplies; Dozier, Weyl & Co., bakery and cracker manufactory; the American Wine Co., manufacturers of Cook's imperial; Kingsland, Ferguson & Co., manufacturers of threshing machines, cotton gins and presses; G. & C. Todd & Co., French burr mill-stone factory; Smith, Beggs & Co., machine works; Branch, Crookes & Co., saw works; Deere, Mansur & Co., manufacturers and dealers in plows; Nicholas Schaeffer, manufacturer of soaps, candles, lard oil, refined lard and glycerine; the Catlin Tobacco Company, manufacturers of all kinds of fine-cut and chewing and smoking tobaccos; Nave, Goddard & Co. are the most extensive dealers in general groceries; Meyer, Bannerman & Co., dealers in saddlery and saddlery hardware; H. & L. Chase, importers and manufacturers, and dealers in bags and bagging; the Latlin & Rand Powder Company, a branch of the largest powder house in the world; and John A. Scholten is the leading photographer in the Valley of the Mississippi.

St. Louis has also the finest building erected to commerce in the world, and can boast of the finest stock-yards in America.

In education St. Louis has the best organized system of culture in America and in the world. The newspapers of St. Louis will also compare more than favorably with those of other cities in the country. The *Times* and *Republican* are conducted with ability and good judgment, while the *Globe-Democrat*, under the business management of its experienced proprietors, and the well directed editorial management of Mr. J. B. McCullagh, demonstrates more enterprise and success than are usual to American journalism. The *Evening Post* and other journals are also worthy of note.

In addition to these St. Louis is central to the greatest systems of river and railway transportation on the globe; she is the greatest

flour manufacturing city in the world: she does the largest mule trade in the country: has the finest bridge and fair grounds in the world, and God long ago decreed her destiny when He laid the foundations of this continent and furrowed the channels of its rivers and enriched its lands, and fitted everything for the abode of man. Texas, too, was born the political child of another nation, but yielding to the same high law of nature that has fixed our continental destiny, and the all-powerful rule of that constitution that was ordained by "WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES," she assumed her place in the federal family and another star was added to the flag of the Union.

With a superficial area of 274,366 square miles, Texas is the largest of the States. She is capable, under good government, of subsisting in plenty and comfort more than four times the population of the Roman Empire under Augustus, and her people, skilled in the arts and peaceful pursuits of life, can, in more mature years, successfully resist, if necessary, an invader like Charlemagne or Napoleon. In her childhood she demonstrated her power to resist an invader, and that power with all its hallowed and time-honored associations will be handed down intact, and it might be said irrepressible to all succeeding generations. But while this great commonwealth is rich in reminiscences of the past, and can boast of an untarnished escutcheon, it has been bountifully endowed by nature with all the inherent elements of wealth and material prosperity for all classes. The three absolute essentials to civilized life—food, clothing and shelter—can be produced more cheaply and in greater abundance by your people than elsewhere under the flag of the Union.

Let me illustrate: At present your lands are cheaper than elsewhere upon the Gulf, or in the older States: in productive power they will compare with other lands in producing material for food, clothing and shelter. Your climate does not require the same abundance of food which is demanded by the inhabitants of colder regions. Your people can clothe themselves more cheaply, and shelter themselves at less expense, than those who belong to hardier regions. These facts, taken together, make living and earning a living less expensive in Texas than any other State in the Union, and therefore Texas affords greater advantages to actual settlers, whose means are limited, than any other State. Again the same amount of labor will produce more wealth in your State than in any other part of the country. But this inducement is vastly increased by the varied

and ever-growing statistics, which each succeeding year adds to swell the evidences of your prosperity and the constantly increasing tendency of capital and population, of speculation and enterprise to your midst, all evidences of inherent and future power, wealth and greatness.

But wide-spread as are the local advantages of this great commonwealth, and however vitalized by your constantly growing railway system, your trade and industry, there is still another sense in which you must be greater.

Your State occupies a middle ground. It lies upon the Gulf and extends to the north; upon one side are mountains, upon the other plain. Your water transit combines with your railway system and unites you with a continent, a hemisphere, and the world. Your climates extend to the north and south, uniting upon one side the heavier industries of the North with the milder pursuits of the South upon the other side. You hold the middle ground; over your highways and through your gates must the great North pass, to that new South which still lies beyond the rule of our Constitution, but which will soon be absorbed by the mission of our Saxon people southward, to the commercial conquest of equatorial America.

Your people have vast possibilities before them. Upon your south lies the Mediteranean of the new world, destined to outstrip in commercial importance the Mediteranean of the old world; to your east there is no Tiber, but there is a continental river far transcending the Roman river. You have your commercial shores, and your Venice now grows into commercial greatness and social grandeur. It behooves your people, and those charged with making and administering your laws and giving aid to national legislation, to promote zealously the immediate establishment of lines of steamers to run from your harbors and from all the important Gulf harbors to all the leading markets of the western hemisphere, and especially to those south of you and to those of Europe. These commercial facilities you need, and these you must have.

In the heavens you can almost see the Southern Cross; the Polar Star is still your guide, and the Lone Star your emblem. Your skies reach over the lands of the Aztecs and Incas, and to the north over the lands of Hiawatha and Black Hawk.

Your great State is connected and united with the great city of futurity by the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway. This road is 500 miles in length, connecting at Texarkana with your

already great system of railways. This mighty railway is an iron road to the sea. It lies in that longitudinal direction, to which the commerce of the future in this great Valley must eventually conform. It is a connecting link between the different zones and climates of the western hemisphere.

On the west side of the Mississippi, the main branch of this road and its connections open to St. Louis the trade of four States—Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas—from which, before its completion, she only had a frontier portion. Now a vast country is opened to a new commerce. The region of country thus opened has the wealth and territory of an empire in itself. Nature has been prodigal in giving to the region of country along the line of this road, from St. Louis to Galveston and the Rio Grande, incomparable resources of natural wealth, and the completion of a great trunk line of railway from St. Louis to the Gulf of Mexico has given to our city a new commerce, the value of which cannot well be estimated.

It has given to our city a new market by introducing cotton, the great staple of the South, as a commodity of traffic for our merchants. Already this trade amounts to \$20,000,000 annually, and, with a constantly increasing tendency, must, by the influence of an inviting policy, in a few years double this amount. The commerce of this road now amounts to \$100,000,000, fifty millions of which is directly with St. Louis. Enormous as these figures are they only represent a trade in its earliest years, but a trade that now truly indicates the unlimited value and importance of the north and south movement on this hemisphere. Add to this trade the many elements of industry and commerce which make supply and demand to our merchants and which this road, with its connections, has brought into requisition, and no man can compute its future value to all the countries it connects in trade and the inter-communion of the different people.

The future importance of this great iron road to your State and the metropolis of the Mississippi Valley has recently received new and greater value by the successful settlement of its financial affairs. Hereafter no difficulty will lie in the way of its extension, in connection with your existing systems of roads, to the City of Mexico. The name and character of Mr. Allen, the president of this road, are already familiar to your people; and I am confident that with you, as with us, his character and ability inspire confidence in all his efforts. I take a justifiable pride in saying to the people of

this great commonwealth that Mr. Allen is one of the most able men in this country. In many respects I do not know his equal. If I were permitted to speak of him by comparison I would call him the De Witt Clinton of the West. His scholarly attainments, his wide grasping reasoning calculating mind, his unquestioned integrity, his soul of humanity and philanthropy, all unite to make him a bulwark of individuality and a benefactor among his people. And as De Witt Clinton, in the building of the New York and Erie Canal, opened the way through which a vast tide of population and commerce moved from the Atlantic seaboard to the northwest, along the line of the lakes, the upper Mississippi and Missouri, so has Mr. Allen far advanced in opening the way through the southwest and on through your country, and soon to the capital of another nation. No such other line of transportation lies unoccupied on the Western Hemisphere, and there is no man more fitted to lead the execution of this great international highway than Mr. Thomas Allen.

Viewed in all its relations to the present and future trade of the country, the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway far transcends in importance any other line connected with the St. Louis railroad system, for it has only opened a trade that is yet capable of indefinite expansion. The lands that were once the home of wild beasts and refugees, are now, by the magic influence of this road, growing populous, prosperous and powerful. This great iron road must, in connection with your system of roads, be extended on to the city of the Montezumas, to the city of Mexico. By this route the people of St. Louis and your people can reach the Pacific at a less distance than by any other route; and we can as well bring into commercial requisition countries which we now covet, and over which our flag will soon float, in the onward mission and continental rule of our constitution. Let us look to these ends as effecting higher and broader relations between your great commonwealth and the city of my home.

I have already said to some of our people that when this great iron road is completed to the City of Mexico a World's Fair or Exhibition must be held at St. Louis. By the time this great highway is completed, be it ever so short, we shall have in Canada, the United States and Mexico, more than half the present population of Great Britain, the German Empire and France; and with the adjacent islands and countries of equatorial America for our allies, we can draw all men unto the great city of futurity, in the central

plain of our continent, to take part in, and look upon, the mightiest exhibition of intellectual power and genius ever produced on the globe.

In 1870, when the first edition of my work on the "Future Great City" of the world was published by the St. Louis County Court for free distribution, I stated my belief that the future railway policy of St. Louis must be to build north and south railways: I was then considered impractical and visionary. But I hold now, as then, that the surplus products of all the continents, when rightly disposed of, must follow the direction of the flow of the waters of those continents: time and experience will demonstrate this view to be true.

The Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway also affords to your State a great outlet into regions of country destined to be populous, and powerful as political communities in the federal family. These great lines will be followed by others which this new commercial destiny will demand.

I now ask you in all sincerity, and submit with the question the plea, what is our guarantee for all this hopeful destiny, which I have so dimly pointed out. From a political view the North and South movement of the people of the Mississippi Valley is the safest and surest guarantee for the perpetuity of the American Union, serving as it must to harmonize and unitize the public sentiment throughout its vast extent.

More than half the national domain lies within the Valley, and will comprise more than half the States which compose the national Union. These States, with a more dense population than all other parts of the Union, will always hold the balance of power in the national legislature, and united in their commercial interests by that great river system of communication, the Mississippi and its tributaries, which ramify through all parts and unitize all interests, will stand as the eternal bond against every scheme of national disintegration. And viewed in the light of the political possibilities of the people of this Valley and all the hopes that inhere in national union, does there not come upon them an irresistible demand to bind the states of this valley together, not only by soils and climates and river and an ever growing commerce, but more especially by a political union that no human power can sever? Look if you will through all the ages of the past and learn what value there is in national union, in patriotism, and what woe there is in national ruin. As the strong man clings to life so will the patriot cling to his country. The lesson

of history is not taught in vain, and if we of this generation would in the present wisely care for the future, we must look to the accomplishment of those things that will insure the best results beyond our own day. There is no guarantee for the perpetuity of the American Republic, save in the union of the States of the Mississippi Valley. Bound together by commerce, by science, by civilization, by blood, by language and law, the people of these States can alone insure the perpetuity of the union. And must it not be confessed that every consideration of interest and safety demand the unalterable union of these States in one political system?

Mr. Jefferson foresaw the great importance of extending the rule of our Constitution over the entire domain of this Valley. When the title to the Louisiana territory passed from Spain to France, the spirit of our Government was clearly manifested by the letter of Mr. Jefferson, of April 18th, 1802, to Mr. Livingston, the minister to Paris. Said Mr. Jefferson: "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy; it is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half our inhabitants. France placing herself in that door assumes the attitude of defiance."

A little more than one year after these words were uttered, Mr. Jefferson concluded a treaty, by which the Louisiana territory was ceded to the United States. This gave us full possession of the entire domain of the Mississippi Valley, and full control of the Mississippi river. Since then new States have been added to the Republic along the entire length of the great river and its tributaries, and the protecting care of the nation has been extended to them, and they have been eagerly watched and guarded by the American people, and the mouth of the river has twice been defended by the arms of the nation and the blood of her soldiers.

Said Governor Yates of Illinois, in his inaugural message to the General Assembly of that State, some months before fire was opened on Fort Sumter:

"It will be admitted that the territory of Louisiana, acquired in 1803, for the purpose of securing to the people of the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi, could never have seceded; yet it is pretended that when that territory has so perfected its municipal organization as to be admitted into the Union as a State, with the

powers and privileges equal to the other states, she may at pleasure repudiate the union, and forbid to the other states the free navigation which was purchased at the cost of all, not for Louisiana, but for all the people of the United States. A claim so presumptuous and absurd could never be acquiesced in. The blood of the gallant sons of Kentucky and Tennessee was freely shed to defend New Orleans and the Mississippi river from a foreign foe ; and it is memorable that the chieftain who rescued that city from sack and siege, was the same who, at a later date, by his stern and patriotic rebuke, dispersed the ranks of disunionists in the borders of South Carolina.

“ Can it be for a moment supposed that the people of the valley of the Mississippi will ever consent that the great river shall flow for hundreds of miles through a foreign jurisdiction, and they be compelled—if not to fight their way in the face of the forts frowning upon its banks—to submit to the imposition and annoyance of arbitrary taxes and exorbitant duties to be levied upon their commerce? I believe that before that day shall come, either shore of the ‘ father of waters ’ will be a continuous sepulchre of the slain, and with all its cities in ruins, and the cultivated fields upon its sloping sides laid waste, it shall roll its foaming tide in solitary grandeur, as at the dawn of creation. I know I speak for Illinois, and I believe for the Northwest, when I declare them a unit in the unalterable determination of her millions, occupying the great basin drained by the Mississippi, to permit no portion of that stream to be controlled by a foreign jurisdiction.”—*Richard Yates*.

After the late civil war had been in progress nearly three years, and New Orleans was occupied by the federal force, Gen. Banks, on being placed in the command of the department of the Gulf, issued a proclamation to the people of the South, dated Dec. 16, 1863, in which he re-affirmed the doctrine of Gov. Yates, in the following forcible language :

“ The valley of the Mississippi is the chosen seat of population, product and power on this continent. In a few years 25,000,000 people, unsurpassed in material resources and capacity for war, will swarm the fertile river. Those who assume to set conditions up on the exodus to the Gulf count upon a power not given to man. The country washed by the waters of the Ohio, Missouri and Mississippi can never be permanently severed ; if one generation barter away its rights, immortal honors will rest upon another that reclaims them. Let it never be said either that the east or west may be separated.

Thirty days distance from the markets of Europe may satisfy the wants of Louisiana and Arkansas, but it will not answer the demands of Illinois and Ohio. The valley of the Mississippi will have its deltas upon the Atlantic. The physical force of the west will debouch upon its shores with a power as resistless as the torrents of the Giant River. This country cannot be permanently divided; ceaseless war may drain its treasuries, domestic tyrants or foreign foes may grasp the scepter of its power, but its destiny will remain unchanged; it will still be united: God has ordained it. What avails the destruction of the best government ever devised by man—the self-adjusting, self-correcting Constitution of the United States.”

It was the expressed aspiration of Pollard, in his “Lost Cause Regained,” that through the building up and unification of this nation, by means of the arts and peaceful pursuits of the American people, a new life of political power and grandeur of destiny, devotion and patriotism to the Union, would permeate the whole land north and south, east and west. Such also has been the expression of your own Governor, of whom I have heard so much of praise.

It is this faith, this devotion to the American Union, that I desire to grow strong and deep in the hearts of the great people destined to reside in the states of the valley of the Mississippi. They must be united under the banner of the north and south. The lesson of the late great struggle between the north and the south fully demonstrated the existence of an under-life principle in the people of this valley to maintain the unity of the states at all hazards. In the great presidential contest of 1860, the northern states of the valley were united, while the southern states were from the first divided in sympathy and opinion. Apart from all convictions regarding slavery, the northern states saw in secession an effort to place the mouth of the Mississippi under the control of a foreign power. To that effort they opposed a resistance more stern and uncompromising than that of any other section of the country. To New England, that resistance was mainly a matter of sentiment and conviction; to New York or Pennsylvania, of trade; but to the people of the northwest, there was added a sense of imperious necessity, grounded upon clear comprehension of the destiny of the great valley. There is no argument so strong in favor of the determination of the people of this valley to maintain one flag and one constitution over its wide domain as that furnished by the late civil war. When even Massachusetts and New York filled their quota in part with money,

the states of the north-west sent only hardy and determined men, whose hearts were in the cause. They went to "hew their way from the lakes to the gulf," and their energy, their spirit, and their leaders, finally turned the scale, and assured the triumph of the Union. The divided south was not able to withstand such a spirit and such efforts. Regiments from Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas swelled the Union forces. Throughout the southwest, strong as were the feelings of hostility to the East, there was a profound feeling of attraction toward the north-west, and a conviction that both were and must of necessity ever be parts of one indivisible nationality.

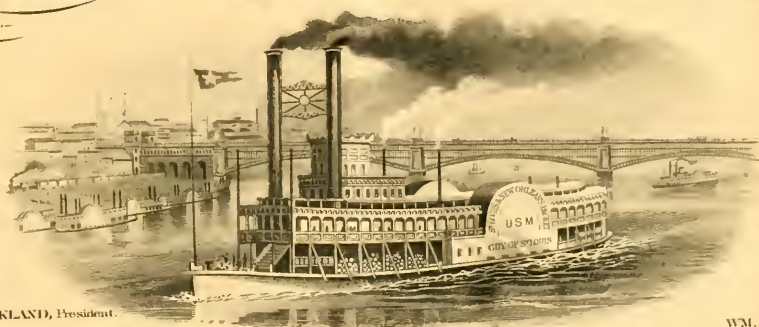
In this great struggle there thus appeared in bold relief, both at the north and south, that predominating and all-controlling desire of the people of the Mississippi Valley to be forever one people, under one government and one flag, and with a common interest in the great river which binds them indissolubly together. That tendency crippled the power of the confederacy in the southwest, and nerved the north-west to efforts which were irresistible. The great generals who rose through command of western armies to the charge of the whole contest, owed not more to their own high qualifications than to the indomitable spirit of the soldiers from the north-west, with whom their earlier victories were won and their boldest conceptions realized, and their regulations established. It was this tendency to union, pervading the population of the Mississippi Valley, from the Lake of the Woods to the Balise, which decided the struggle. Unquestionably there was much bitter hostility to the union in the southwest, but it never commanded unanimous sympathy; an element strong in numbers everywhere cherished attachment to the people of the north-west, and open unionism blazed out everywhere whenever opportunity offered. Even with the most bitter, there was a secret conviction that disunion in the great valley was simply an impossibility; and those who fought most resolutely were inspired by desperation rather than hope. Thus to the secret heart of the Mississippi Valley is due that unconquerable unionism which three presidents from that valley have represented in their lives and deeds; and now that the only cause of division is removed forever, we may rest assured that the united people of the valley will henceforth neither propose to divide the union themselves, nor suffer anybody else to divide it. Perpetual union of nationality becomes henceforth the law of their political life.

A review of the political history of the valley shows that its future policy will be in no sense sectional, but in the truest and broadest sense national, because it must seek the real and permanent prosperity of the whole country. Bound to all other sections by the closest ties of blood, of trade and of mutual interest, the people of the great central basin can never cherish animosity towards those of the Atlantic or Pacific slope, nor do injustice to any other section without a sacrifice of their own interests. Will any demagogue seek to arouse hostility to eastern manufacturers or capital? The people of the valley will remember that the east consumes much of their grain, and that prosperity at the east means a better market for agricultural products. The eastern and middle states, it is possible, might fail to comprehend the best interests of the south. But the central valley, embracing within itself seven of the southern states, must appreciate their needs, and, bound to them by perpetual interdependence as producer and consumer, its northern states must constantly study to promote the interest of the southern. Thus it is that the rights of all other portions of our country must be safely guarded, and the interests of all steadily protected, where the power rests with the great central section which represents all others in lineage, and is bound to all others by mutual interdependence.

Not less clear is it that the policy of the Mississippi Valley must be one of equal justice to all races and creeds, and of liberal welcome to immigrants from all nations of the earth. Already every nationality has its representatives in the cosmopolitan population of the valley. The original stock from eastern states has been modified by admixture with the English and the Irish, the German and the French, the Norwegian and the Italian, the Chinese and the African, so that retaining its native energy and progressive spirit, it has lost altogether that exclusiveness of feeling, of which traces were seen in the earlier New England colonies. Already representing all races and creeds, the valley fully appreciates its need of unlimited supplies of labor for all classes, the most intelligent and enterprising, as well as the most unskilled and cheapest, for the development of its varied and inexhaustible resources. No party or faction can ever arise in the Mississippi Valley which, by the policy it advocates, would seem to repel immigrants of any class, without meeting swift and overpowering resistance from the great body of the people. Nor can such a policy, strongly rejected by the people of the valley themselves, be tolerated if proposed for the national government.

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The national policy, when shaped by the people of the great interior basin, must embrace as one of its essential features a comprehensive system of improvements for the interior water channels of our country. In proportion as the great states of the interior, adapted by nature in so remarkable a degree for agriculture, become more fully settled and cultivated, the surplus products of these states will enormously increase. Hence, to these interior states the question of cost of transportation will be one of controlling importance, nor will it be less important to the densely populated manufacturing states. The prosperity of these must largely depend upon the cheapness of food, because in all manufacturing operations, the cost of production is materially affected by the cost of living, by which the wages of labor are regulated. To secure the amplest and the cheapest possible facilities for transportation from the great food-producing region of the interior outward in every direction, thus becomes an essential feature of a truly national policy, and it is in this direction that the people of the Mississippi Valley will doubtless concentrate their efforts more speedily than in any other, being pushed thereto by the necessities of agriculture.

Finally, a great nation destined by its inventive and industrial skill, its vigorous enterprise, and its unsurpassed mineral and other resources, to become the workshop of the world, as it is likewise destined, by its advantages of soil, climate, and natural water channels penetrating its food-producing region, to become the granary of the world, must seek commercial reciprocity with the regions which naturally offer a market to its products. Thus the foreign policy of the United States will only be truly national when it seeks free entrance to the ports of the West Indies, of Mexico, and of Central and South America. To this policy, also, the people of the Mississippi Valley will be impelled by their interest as food-producers.

The material interests of the people must grow out of these co-operative interests of the present and future millions who are to reside in this valley, and upon the two great slopes of the continent. Viewed in the light of the present and the future, the organic relations of this people is immeasurable in its social and commercial importance. They are bound together in the closest relations, and are destined to fatalities and results continental in their character. No European or Asiatic monarch ever ruled a people having so great a present, and the promise of so great a destiny. But the importance of the material interests of the American people is intensified when we consider their political and moral interest. When we come to consider these we

have first to consider the value of the American Union and the value of constitutional government. Already it has been demonstrated to enlightened mankind that the American Union embodies more that is valuable in civil government than the philosophers and statesmen of other lands have been able to contrive for the use of man. The largest personal and public liberty possible, under the rule of positive law, has been granted to the citizen, and the field of the law affords equal protection to all.

The whole story of the human race is the record of a struggle for supremacy over the earth, a struggle for sovereignty over the soil and the sovereignty and right of the individual in the community. On this continent man has achieved this high end. This mastery of the individual is the expression of sovereignty over the monopoly of despotic power. Here the law-giver infinitely transcends all previous achievements in human legislation.

The right of the citizen, under the organic law of this nation, to stand equal in the community to the highest official of the government, presents to the world a new liberty given to mankind; a new function delegated to the individual, superior in its exercise to any previous civil power known to nations. It is the acknowledgment of man's equality before the law of man, as before the law of God.

The organization of the American Union was a sublime achievement of the human race. It was an advance on all previous forms of human government. Its constitution disposed of autocrats, of kings and monarchs, and made the people sovereign. The constitution lifted the human race to a plane of sublime dignity. It presents two great ideas to the human understanding, one, the recognition of the individual sovereignty of man; the other, the universal fatherhood of God.

To perpetuate a nation formed under such a constitution must be the highest duty of the American people. The fate of many millions, living and yet to be, of strong men and earnest women, hangs on the fate of this nation. Shall we maintain the nation, or shall we be indifferent to its existence? If we be patriots let us look wisely to the future; let us truly realize that here in this great valley of the Mississippi is growing up a power unknown to the human race; the only power that can in the future maintain constitutional government on this continent.

Individuals are transient and local, but this nation represents not only the welfare of many millions of the world's people, but in a broader sense the world's civilization, and all things personal, all things local, must be yielded to the one great interest of the whole

people of the nation. I have endeavored to present to you the fundamental truths upon which the prosperity of the people of this country, and the perpetuity of this nation rests, and I ask of you as citizens and patriots to look wisely to the future in all your efforts for commercial and national welfare. I appeal to experience; I appeal to reason. I am willing to cancel all the past and interrogate the incoming century upon the material and national prosperity of the American people—upon the destiny of the people of this great valley of the Mississippi. Then, standing as we do at a pivot point in history, with one century in the life of the nation closing behind us, and looking down through the years of the incoming century, let us all rise above everything local and sectional, let us rise above the memories of the north and south of the past, and like patriots around a soldier's grave bury the sad recollections of days gone by. Let us put away in our libraries as things of the past, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and the "Lost Cause," the "Helper Book" and "Cotton is King." Let us no longer boast that the nation has written its mightiest deeds of war in the blood of its own citizens. Tell me no more that your dead of the south are the confederate dead; that the dead of the north are the federal dead; I will answer that they are all American dead, and the American Union belongs alike to all the living. Over all the graves of the dead floats the same flag, and over the homes of all the living, kindred and friends, now rules the same all-powerful constitution. Turn which way we may, east, west, north and south, the same great impersonal heart of America beats for the life of all. Look across the turbid waters of the great continental river, where death has recently scourged towns and cities like a pagan plague, there the warm heart of the American people, and the great national heart, rallied to the rescue, and humanity wept over the dead and the dying.

Asleep are the ranks of the dead,
Under the sod and the dew.
Waiting the Judgment day.

Let us teach the same lessons of patriotism to all the children of the Republic. Let us go forward to the duties which the second century in our national life is about to impose upon us; and with united hands, hearts and purposes, consummate on this land all the divine aspirations of the human soul. Made strong by the new law and the new liberty which this nation has given to the world, let us make the new life of this people in the generations yet to be a perfect fulfillment of the apocalyptic vision, by the creation on this continent of a new heaven and a new earth. Let us of the north and south

strike hands beneath the banner of peace, and take a new departure in that battle of life destined to bring comfort and prosperity to home and friends, to people and nations. The duty lies before us all; will we neglect to do our part? We cannot.

I want no modern Asiatic conqueror; no Shen-his-Kan or Tamerlane; no European Attila or Alaric from "the populous north" to ~~learn~~ of the follies and failures of our people, and let loose with locust legions and candid power to swarm the fertile plains of the sunny south. No obstacle lies in the way of our inheritance being perpetual peace and prosperity.

The supremacy of the republic among the nations of the world, depends upon the superiority of the life-deeds of the Saxon-American people, and no matter what tendency political parties may take in the future, a new life is now growing upon the nation that will revolutionize the old order of things, by the establishment of a new commercial and political life upon this continent.

To talk about the reconciliation of all parts of the country to the central government, by the so called "policy" of any President, as long as the national capital remains at Washington, is to talk in the most absurd manner. Nothing will reconcile all the sections of a continental nation, lying under diverse climates, but a continental capitol fixed in the heart of the nation, and from whence the federal laws will reach with equal vigor to every part of the wide domain of the country, and to which every part will constantly contribute new life and growth. The capital thus fixed in some central and appropriate place in the Valley of the Mississippi, the nation will throb with a new life in the future, and each diverse section of our common country, and the people of every state, yielding to an irresistible law of political attraction, will seek a new life in becoming a part of the great whole. All the ideas and all the issues involved in the subject of the north and the south, embrace the subject of the political harmony of the American people, their material prosperity, their future growth and greatness, and the perpetuity of the American nation. Standing upon the foreground of the new century, I see with the eyes of Cassandra, the morning twilight of a rising, mightier age; I see America moving forward to her predestined position in the affairs of the world, as mistress of nations; I see her future greatness built upon the principles of nature and the inherent rights of man, each yielding to a law of physical and mental attractions; I see growing upon the Western Hemisphere, upon the new world, the great people and the great nation of futurity.

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